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The Lvov-Warsaw School in Clandestine Education: The Struggle for Survival

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Abstract: This article examines the profound impact of World War II on the Lvov-Warsaw School (LWS) of logic and philosophy. Initially, it provides an overview of the School's flourishing state in the 1930s, establishing a baseline for understanding the subsequent wartime disruptions. Then, it shifts to the human and institutional losses endured by Polish scientific philosophy during the war, situating these within the broader context of national suffering. The article also explores the organized military and civic resistance efforts against the occupiers, highlighting the active participation of the LWS members in the resistance movement. It details the clandestine educational initiatives and wartime teaching activities of LWS members across Warsaw, Lwów, and Wilno, and assesses their scholarly output during this tumultuous period. Finally, the article offers a historical evaluation of underground education and reflects on how the academic ethos of the LWS influenced its members' wartime conduct.

Key words: Lvov-Warsaw School, World War II, philosophical education, clandestine education

1. Preliminary Remarks

The development of the Lvov-Warsaw School (hereinafter LWS or the School), which primarily operated during the early decades of the 20th century, was marked by two pivotal moments tied to the two world wars. The consequences of World War I, despite its dramatic course, were largely beneficial for the LWS. Thanks to Poland regaining independence under the Treaty of Versailles, the School gained new centres beyond Lwów, most notably establishing its second branch in Warsaw. In contrast, the aftermath of World War II was exceptionally tragic for the LWS – so much so that some historians consider its history to have ended in 1939. The aim of this article is to demonstrate that the LWS continued to exist during

World War II, even though maintaining the "life" of the School between 1939 and 1945 required immense sacrifices, including risking lives.[1]

The activities of the LWS can be categorized into three main areas. Two of these – the didactic and the scientific – are linked to academic life. The third area is social engagement, which extends beyond academia. In the time of peace, the members of the School were involved in social activity to varying degrees but during the war their participation was particularly intensive and significant. This article focuses primarily on the didactic efforts, which, under Nazi and Soviet occupation, amounted to a heroic struggle to preserve the continuity of Polish academic and educational institutions – a determined resistance against attempts to annihilate Polish culture. I complement this presentation with examples of the scientific work continued during the war. The social aspect is only briefly mentioned, though it equally deserves a more detailed study.

For reconstructing the wartime activities of the LWS, I rely primarily on rare publications by Professor Barbara Markiewicz and Professor Jacek Jadacki: *…A mądrości zło nie przemoże…* […But against Wisdom Evil Does Not Prevail…] and *Próg istnienia* [The Threshold of Existence] in two volumes.[2] These works serve as outstanding documents commemorating both what was lost during World War II and what was successfully preserved.

The structure of this article is as follows. To fully grasp the devastating impact of World War II on the LWS, it is essential to understand how well the School functioned in the 1930s. Therefore, in section 2, I briefly describe the state of the School before September 1939. Section 3 outlines the human and institutional losses suffered by Polish scientific philosophy due to the war, in the broader context of the overall losses experienced by the Polish state. Section 4 discusses how Poles organized themselves against the destructive actions of the invaders and later occupiers – both militarily and civically – and how the LWS members actively participated in this real "resistance movement." The key part of the article – sections 5 through 7 – details the organization of underground education and

[1] This article supplements my paper *The Lvov-Warsaw School after 1950*, "Edukacja Filozoficzna" 2022, Vol. 74, pp. 141–160, in which I analyse the arguments for and against the thesis that the LWS operated in the second half of the 20th century.

[2] J. Jadacki, B. Markiewicz, eds., *…A mądrości zło nie przemoże…* […But against Wisdom Evil Does Not Prevail…], Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne, Warszawa 1993; J. Jadacki, B. Markiewicz, eds., *Próg istnienia* [The Threshold of Existence], Vol. 1: *Zdziesiątkowane pokolenie* [The Decimated Generation], Vol. 2: *Dzieło niedokończone* [The Unfinished Work], Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne, Warszawa 1996.

the wartime didactic activities of the LWS members: in Warsaw (section 5), in Lwów and Wilno (section 6), and finally, as a contextual backdrop, their wartime research output (section 7). Section 8 provides a historical assessment of underground education, along with a few remarks on how the academic ethos of the LWS shaped the attitudes of its members during the war.

2. The Lvov-Warsaw School before World War II

The 1930s were a period of true intellectual prosperity for both the LWS and Polish scientific philosophy as a whole, despite the economic crisis gripping Poland and the world. Władysław Tatarkiewicz wrote:

> World War II found Polish philosophy in full bloom. Workshops for philosophical work had already been established, and a new generation of researchers, fully educated in Polish schools and prepared for academic work, was emerging. This was destroyed by the occupiers between 1939 and 1944. A vast portion of the young generation perished in battles or was murdered in German concentration camps.[3] A great number of academic workshops, libraries, and scientific institutions were devastated, plundered, or razed to the ground. For Poland – more than for other countries, and to a much greater extent – the war marked the end of an important and flourishing era, albeit one that was short-lived and unfinished.[4]

Why was this era so important, and what defined the blooming of Polish philosophy that was so abruptly interrupted? In Lwów, modern philosophical research (in a broad sense) had been developing since 1895 under the leadership of Kazimierz Twardowski, who established a strong and dynamic academic centre there. Although Twardowski retired in 1930, he left behind an outstanding successor: Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz, his esteemed student, a versatile and creative scholar. The second chair of philosophy in Lwów at that time was held by Roman Ingarden, who represented a somewhat different philosophical orientation but, like Ajdukiewicz, was a world-class philosopher. Both Ajdukiewicz and In-

[3] It should be noted that Poles were also killed by the Soviets – let me only mention the Katyń Massacre (see also below). Tatarkiewicz could not write about this openly because of the censorship.

[4] W. Tatarkiewicz, *Historia filozofii* [History of Philosophy], Vol. 3, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2014, p. 387. Unless stated otherwise, all translations are my own.

garden were also excellent educators. Although many of Twardowski's students dispersed across Poland, some remained in Lwów, including the psychologist Mieczysław Kreutz and philosophers Izydora Dąmbska, Seweryna Łuszczewska-Romahnowa, Henryk Mehlberg, Janina Mehlberg, Eugenia Blaustein, Leopold Blaustein, and Ajdukiewicz's doctoral student, Zygmunt Schmierer. As a result, Lwów's philosophical prospects were highly promising.

Since 1915, Warsaw had become the School's second centre, where a "triumvirate" of Twardowski's disciples – Jan Łukasiewicz, Stanisław Leśniewski, and Tadeusz Kotarbiński – were active, alongside the philosopher-historian Tatarkiewicz, who was also connected to Twardowski. Other Lwów-trained philosophers, such as Władysław Witwicki and Stefan Baley, held chairs in psychology in Warsaw. Gradually, the next generation of LWS scholars emerged, including Maria Ossowska, Stanisław Ossowski, Dina Sztejnbarg (later Janina Kotarbińska), and Alfred Tarski.

The School also expanded beyond Lwów and Warsaw. In Poznań, psychologist Stefan Błachowski and philosopher Zygmunt Zawirski were active, while Tadeusz Czeżowski was a dynamic force in Wilno, organizing the Sociable Philosophical Meeting (in Polish: Towarzyski Zjazd Filozoficzny) in July 1937 and running a highly active branch of the Polish Philosophical Society.

Another significant, though less directly related, philosophical centre was Kraków and Jagiellonian University – the oldest university in this part of the world, with strong and unique philosophical traditions. Kraków was less influenced by Twardowski but the spirit of the LWS reached there as well, particularly during the 1936 Polish Philosophical Congress held in the city, where the Kraków Circle, affiliated with the LWS, was formed. Additionally, in 1937, Zawirski moved from Poznań to Jagiellonian University.

Interwar Polish philosophy could boast several philosophical journals. "Przegląd Filozoficzny" [Philosophical Review] had been published in Warsaw since 1897, "Ruch Filozoficzny" [Philosophical Movement] in Lwów since 1911, and "Kwartalnik Filozoficzny" [Philosophical Quarterly] was founded in Kraków in 1922. In the 1930s, the Lwów centre initiated the publication of "Studia Philosophica," which featured articles in German, French, and English, promoting Polish research internationally. Additionally, several philosophical societies thrived: the Polish Philosophical Society in Lwów, the Philosophical Society in Kraków, the Polish Psychological Society (which was, in fact, a philosophical society) in Warsaw, the Poznań Philosophical Society, the Philosophical Society in Wilno, and the Polish Logical Society.

The quality of Polish philosophical and logical research, as well as the standard of teaching, impressed many internationally renowned scholars who visited Warsaw and Lwów, including Rudolf Carnap, Carl Menger, Willard Van Orman Quine, and Heinrich Scholz.[5] Polish philosophers and logicians were also highly appreciated as the participants of international congresses and at European universities, where young scholars completed research internships.

Thanks to these institutions and the intensity of the Polish philosophical movement, the intellectual circle of the LWS in the 1930s was truly impressive. Before World War II, over 150 individuals earned doctorates or master's degrees under the guidance of Twardowski, his students, or other scholars associated with the LWS. This was a diverse community: alongside representatives of traditional philosophical disciplines, it included mathematical logicians, psychologists (in the modern sense), sociologists, educators, and more. Members of the LWS were also known for their significant differences in world-view and philosophical standpoints. Not all of them felt equally strong ties to Twardowski's School. However, from today's perspective, it is clear that they shared the same academic and civic values – above all, they embraced and implemented a common set of fundamental methodological principles, encapsulated in their commitment to "anti-irrationalism," the respect for the postulates of clarity and justification, and antidogmatism.

By the late 1930s, the School suffered painful personal losses: in 1938, Twardowski passed away, and in May 1939, Warsaw's leading logician, Leśniewski, died prematurely. However, the true collapse was yet to come.

3. War Losses

In August 1939, German and Russian ministers, Joachim von Ribbentrop and Vyacheslav Molotov, signed a non-aggression pact with a secret protocol outlining the plan to partition Poland. This plan was swiftly executed. On 1 September,

[5] See A. Brożek, *Carnap and the Members of the Lvov-Warsaw School: Carnap's Warsaw Lectures (1930) in the Polish Context*, in: *Der junge Carnap in historischem Kontext: 1918–1935 / Young Carnap in an Historical Context: 1918–1935*, eds. C. Damböck, G. Wolters, Springer, Vienna 2021, pp. 205–221; A. Brożek, *Jan Łukasiewicz and His German Ally: A History of Łukasiewicz-Scholz Cooperation and Friendship*, "Studia Humana" 2024, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 9–22, https://doi.org/10.2478/sh-2024-0008.

Germany attacked from the west. Poland was the first country to resist Adolf Hitler's imperialist madness, but without real external support – despite alliances with Britain and France – it began to lose the battle. The decisive moment came on 17 September, when the Soviets invaded from the east under the pretext of "protecting the Belarusian and Ukrainian populations" in the region. Masses of people fleeing eastward from the Wehrmacht encountered the advancing Red Army. Soon, independent Poland ceased to exist. Its western territories, including Poznań, were annexed into the Third Reich, while in the east, the occupiers established Soviet "republics": Lwów was incorporated into the Soviet "republic" of Ukraine, and Wilno – after a brief annexation by independent Lithuania – became the capital of the Soviet "republic" of Lithuania.

In the central part of Poland, occupied by Hitler, the region of General Government (Generalgouvernement) was established, entirely subordinated to Germany but treated separately, with a "special purpose." This area soon became the site of the greatest Nazi crimes, particularly in the extermination camps of Auschwitz, Majdanek, and Treblinka. After two years of occupation, in 1941, Polish territories became a battleground between two great powers when Hitler attacked Joseph Stalin and quickly occupied eastern Poland. The tide of the Eastern Front only turned in 1944, when the advancing Red Army eventually occupied all of pre-war Poland. For Poles, this "liberation" from Hitler's rule meant falling into another form of subjugation.

Estimations are difficult and uncertain, but it is generally accepted that around 6 million Polish citizens (out of a pre-war population of 35 million) perished during World War II. Of these, approximately 3 million were deemed of Jewish origin by German authorities.

Remembering these historical facts is crucial for understanding the losses suffered by the LWS during this horrific period. Of the approximately 150 members of the School, over 50 perished; 4 died in the defence war in September 1939, 1 was killed in bombed Lwów. The German occupiers murdered a total of 37 School members – through executions, imprisonment, and extermination in ghettos and concentration camps – of whom 30 were classified as Jewish under the Nuremberg Laws. Some members of the School, overwhelmed by despair, committed suicide. During the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, 5 more School members were killed.[6]

[6] For the list of the victims among philosophers – see J. Jadacki, B. Markiewicz, *…A mądrości zło nie przemoże…*, op. cit.; J. Jadacki, B. Markiewicz, *Próg istnienia*, op. cit.

Among those who died in September 1939 were Jerzy Siwecki and Jan Rutski. The list of those who perished in German concentration camps and prisons includes Janina Hosiasson-Lindenbaum, Adolf Lindenbaum, Jan Mosdorf, Maria Jagodzińska, Fryderyka Olesińska, Antoni Pański, and Zygmunt Schmierer. Some lost their lives in the ghettos, for instance, Jakub Rajgrodzki, Mordechaj Waisberg, Aleksander Wundheiler, Leopold Blaustein and Eugenia Ginsberg-Blaustein. The Warsaw Uprising claimed the lives of scholars including Jan Salamucha, Mieczysław Milbrandt, Jan Łempicki, Danuta Krzeszewska, and Alicja Szebekowa. Salomon Igel commited suicide after Germany's invasion.

Tadeusz Gluziński (a student of Twardowski), died in early 1940 from frostbite while escaping from the General Government to Hungary, and Jan Gralewski (a student of Tatarkiewicz) perished in mid-1943 in the Gibraltar catastrophe alongside General Władysław Sikorski, then Prime Minister of the Polish Government-in-Exile.

It is important to remember that the ideologies of both German Nazis and Russian communists included the annihilation of the Polish intelligentsia. Such were the intentions behind the Nazis' so-called Intelligenzaktion, initiated immediately in September 1939. As part of this operation, crimes were committed in Pomerania (approximately 23,000 victims), Mazovia (around 6,500 victims), Silesia (about 2,000 victims), Poznań (approximately 2,000 victims), and Łódź (around 1,500 victims). In the summer of 1940, this systematic extermination was "completed" in the General Government territory under the so-called Außerordentliche Befriedungsaktion (approximately 6,500 victims). Three special "actions" were particularly painful: (1) In November 1939, the so-called Sonderaktion Krakau took place, during which nearly 200 lecturers from Kraków's universities were arrested and deported to the Sachsenhausen and Dachau camps; among them was Jan Salamucha. Many did not survive the camp ordeal. (2) In July 1941, the Germans murdered over 20 lecturers from Lwów. (3) Between 1941 and 1944, numerous executions of Polish intelligentsia were carried out in Ponary near Wilno.

The Soviets carried out a similar campaign of extermination in the spring of 1940, executing tens of thousands of Polish officers, many of them highly educated specialists, in mass executions in Katyń, Charków, and Miednoje (nearly 22,000 victims killed by a shot to the back of the head). In the territories occupied by the Soviets, masses of Poles were arrested and deported to gulags (labour

camps) in Siberia. From among members of the LWS, the following people were deported: Adam Bardecki (a student of Ajdukiewicz), Tadeusz Bornholtz (a student of Tatarkiewicz), Helena Larkowa (a student of Witwicki), Czesław Lejewski (a student of Łukasiewicz), Jarosław Rudniański (a student of Kotarbiński), and Stanisław Wawrzyńczyk (a student of Czeżowski). Their survival in the gulags, characterized by extremely harsh conditions, brutal labour, starvation, disease, inadequate shelter, and violence, was made possible only by their incorporation into General Władysław Anders's Polish Army, which was formed in Asia from among Poles who had been deported to the gulags between 1939 and 1941 and were subsequently released following Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union.

Polish losses during World War II were catastrophic, disproportionately affecting the intellectual class. Nearly 40% of Polish doctors were killed, as well as one in three Polish scholars and educators, one in three Polish scientists and university professors, one in three primary or secondary school teachers, and one in three Catholic priests. And, let us add, one in three philosophers.

Let us remember that the occupiers aimed not only to exterminate active Polish intellectuals but also to dismantle or transform institutions that could have posed a threat to their control. All Polish universities and secondary schools were closed, with only vocational schools allowed to operate in the General Government. Teaching at a higher or even secondary level was punishable by death, as was providing aid to Jewish people. In cities occupied by the Soviets, such as Lwów and Wilno, schools were not shut down but were heavily "Sovietized," both in staffing and curriculum. For Poles, this was an especially cruel fate, as it was carried out under the pretext of "de-Polonization," aiming to eliminate or reshape Polish culture. Nazi Germany sought to reduce Poles to a mere labour force for the German "master race," while the Soviet Bolsheviks aimed to eliminate the Polish gentry as part of their broader plan to erase Western culture.

For those who survived, the war left deep psychological scars: the loss of loved ones, constant fear, and the ever-present reality of hunger. Some who endured the nightmare of prisons and concentration camps carried that trauma for the rest of their lives – including Irena Pannenkowa, Mieczysław Wallis, Dina Sztejnbarg and Seweryna Łuszczewska-Rohmanowa.

Beyond the individual suffering, the School as an institution also faced immense losses. It lost not only a significant portion of its members to death, but many others (dozens) were forced into exile. It is easy to imagine how much rich-

er Polish philosophy would have been after World War II if scholars like Czesław Lejewski, Henryk Hiż, Bolesław Sobociński, Zbigniew Jordan, Henryk Mehlberg and, of course, the coryphei of the School: Jan Łukasiewicz and Alfred Tarski, had not been forced to leave Poland for political reasons before, during, or soon after the war.

4. Philosophers in the Polish Underground State

The Polish society did not passively submit to the power of the agressors in 1939. Soon, the Polish Underground State was established, which was the largest and best-organized clandestine institution of World War II, led from exile by the Polish government in London. It began its operations under German occupation and later expanded them across the entire occupied Polish territories. The state had both military and civilian branches. The military branch was primarily represented by the Home Army (Armia Krajowa, AK), which numbered around 390,000 soldiers in 1944. The main tasks of AK soldiers were sabotage and diversionary actions. In 1944, the so-called Operation "Tempest" ("Burza") was launched, aiming to seize control of major urban centres at the moment when they were abandoned by the Wehrmacht but had not yet been occupied by the Red Army. The largest undertaking within this operation was the Warsaw Uprising, which started on 1 August 1944.

The civilian branch of the underground state oversaw the Polish administration, social activities, judiciary, publications, and, of course, education. The Secret Teachers' Organization (Tajna Organizacja Nauczycielska) coordinated the operation of "underground classes," which took place in small groups in private apartments. In 1943, approximately 5,500 teachers were involved in these clandestine classes, educating a total of around 90,000 students. As expected, the underground education system was ruthlessly persecuted by the occupying authorities, and the discovery of a secret class led at the very least to the arrest of its participants.

Krzysztof Tatarkiewicz, son of philosopher Władysław, recalled that the organization of both the army and education began immediately after the conclusion of the September Campaign in 1939:

> It is astonishing how quickly, after the end of military operations, both the civilian and military resistance movements emerged. […] The civilian resis-

> tance movement, focused mainly on two areas – secret education and assistance to individuals politically (police-wise) or economically endangered – was in full operation under German occupation as early as November. Given the precedent of the arrest of professors from Jagiellonian University, it was immediately clear that secret education would be under the constant threat of German repression. And yet, people took the risk, convinced that, after the war, Poland would need educated individuals.[7]

Military and civilian functions were often combined. Also philosophers not only engaged in clandestine education but also fought as soldiers. Several philosophers were involved in the AK, including Jerzy Słupecki (a student of Łukasiewicz), Izydora Dąmbska (a student of Twardowski), Józef Maria Bocheński (a student of Łukasiewicz), Stefan Swieżawski (a student of Ajdukiewicz), Irena Mokrzecka (a student of Czeżowski), Roman Gralewski (a student of Tatarkiewicz), Mieczysław Milbrandt (a student of Tatarkiewicz), Stanisław Wąsowicz (a student of Znamierowski), and Alicja Iwańska (a student of Kotarbiński). Particularly notable figures included Józefina Mehlberg (a student of Twardowski), the aforementioned Swieżawski and Gralewski, and Alicja Iwańska. Józefina Mehlberg, on behalf of the AK, contributed to saving many prisoners from the Majdanek concentration camp through the charity work of the Central Welfare Council (Rada Główna Opiekuńcza). Swieżawski participated in the so-called Szczawnica Uprising (summer 1944); Gralewski served as an AK courier; and Iwańska worked effectively in an intelligence unit. In another underground military organization, the National Armed Forces (Narodowe Siły Zbrojne, NSZ), philosophers also held prominent positions. Notably, Józef Maria Bocheński and Jan Salamucha (students of Łukasiewicz[8] and Tatarkiewicz) and Bolesław Sobociński (a student of Łukasiewicz) were actively involved. It is striking that these lists include people of different political orientations. In 1944, Salamucha was involved in negotiations aimed at merging the AK and the NSZ.

The largest number of philosopher-soldiers participated in the Warsaw Uprising – a great yet tragic Polish insurrection against the Germans that lasted two

[7] K. Tatarkiewicz, *Trochę wspomnień, trochę refleksji* [Some Memories, Some Reflections], in: *Próg istnienia* [The Threshold of Existence], Vol. 2: *Dzieło niedokończone* [The Unfinished Work], eds. J. Jadacki, B. Markiewicz, Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne, Warszawa 1996, p. 8.

[8] Bocheński was not formally a student of Łukasiewicz, but he admitted to being influenced by Łukasiewicz's works. They maintained close scholarly and personal relations in the 1930s.

months. The casualties were horrifying: about 10,000 insurgents killed (another 20,000 wounded), approximately 200,000 civilians dead, and around 600,000 others expelled from the city. This was followed by the deliberate destruction of vast sections of Warsaw buildings and infrastructure. Also many members of the third generation of the LWS philosophers perished in the Uprising. Władysław Tatarkiewicz described this generational loss in the following words:

> This generation, born just before and during World War I and educated before World War II, was decimated, creating a void, as if an entire generation was missing from the history of Polish philosophy.[9]

Władysław Stróżewski (a student of Dąmbska) emphasized that this uprising was not the first time when Polish philosophers joined the army:

> In our history, it has almost become a rule that philosophers must also be soldiers: starting with the Kościuszko Uprising, through both major uprisings and the Revolutions of 1848, World War I, and the War of 1920, ending – hopefully finally – with World War II and its most tragic episode for us – the Warsaw Uprising. I said "must be," so I should add that this necessity always arose from their own choice, motivated by love of freedom and love of the homeland.[10]

For young Poles at that time, participation in underground activities was natural and the obligation to fight had to be balanced with obligation to work for a living and with education. Barbara Białostocka recalled:

> We all had to work for a living, we all attended some lectures, we took exams, and in one way or another, we participated in the resistance movement, leaving us with very little free time, especially given the curfew.[11]

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[9] W. Tatarkiewicz, *Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1944* [Memories from the Years 1939–1944] (1947), in: *Próg istnienia* [The Threshold of Existence], Vol. 1: *Zdziesiątkowane pokolenie* [The Decimated Generation], eds. J. Jadacki, B. Markiewicz, Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne, Warszawa 1996, p. 152.

[10] W. Stróżewski, *Wstęp* [Introduction], in: *Próg istnienia* [The Threshold of Existence], Vol. 1: *Zdziesiątkowane pokolenie* [The Decimated Generation], eds. J. Jadacki, B. Markiewicz, Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne, Warszawa 1996, p. 7.

[11] B. Białostocka, [Letter to J. Jadacki], in: *Próg istnienia* [The Threshold of Existence], Vol. 2: *Dzieło niedokończone* [The Unfinished Work], eds. J. Jadacki, B. Markiewicz, Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne, Warszawa 1996, pp. 265–266.

One of crucial aspects of the Polish Underground State's activities was also aiding Polish Jews, who, as it gradually became evident, had been sentenced to extermination by Nazi Germany. Despite being aware that providing such assistance meant risking one's own life, Poles engaged in these efforts. Once the Germans began deporting Jews from ghettos to extermination camps, the Polish Government-in-Exile institutionalized this aid by establishing the Council for Aid to Jews (Rada Pomocy Żydom), codenamed "Żegota." Among those cooperating with Żegota were Ossowski and Słupecki in Warsaw. In Wilno, Czeżowski organized help independently. Due to this activity, he, his wife and daughter were then awarded the title of Righenous Among the Nations.

Czeżowski was also the only representative of the first generation of the LWS to suffer repression from both occupiers: the Nazi authorities and the Soviet authorities. In his *Zapiski do autobiografii* [Notes for an Autobiography, 1977], he wrote (while avoiding direct mention of those who arrested him, due to Poland's censorship at the time):

> In mid-September 1943, I was arrested at night and, along with a hundred Polish residents of Wilno, including several professors from our university, was deported to a forced labour camp in Prowieniszki near Kowno. Ten of the arrested, including Professors Pelczar (a physician) and Gutkowski (a lawyer), were immediately executed in the basement of the courthouse on Lukiski Square. This was a reprisal for the killing of a Lithuanian policeman. As it turned out, the Lithuanian police falsely accused a Polish organization, as the policeman had actually been killed during a quarrel by another Lithuanian policeman. Thus, after several weeks, we were released from the camp, but the executed could not be brought back to life. I was arrested a second time just before leaving Wilno in June 1945. However, this time I was released after a week of interrogations.[12]

The second arrest occurred already under Soviet rule. Shortly thereafter, Wilno permanently became part of the USSR. Czeżowski finally moved to Toruń, where a new university was established, and many Polish philosophers relocated. He had to start over but managed to continue the traditions of the LWS to some extent.

[12] T. Czeżowski, *Zapiski do autobiografii* [Notes for an Autobiography], "Kwartalnik Nauki i Techniki" 1977, Vol. 22, No. 3, p. 437.

5. Secret Teaching in Warsaw

The most extensive structure of secret education was established in Warsaw, which was also the largest Polish city and, as a result, the city with the greatest conspirational potential. Life in the city was difficult: terror in the streets, curfews, strict prohibitions, the division of the population into Aryan and non-Aryan groups, and constant anxiety – all of which certainly did not facilitate academic activities. However, it was one of those situations where people were willing to fight for the realization of higher needs and values, even when their basic needs were not met. Kotarbiński wrote about these challenges:

> We must learn to isolate ourselves internally for a specific time, not only from our own suffering and anxiety but also from that of others, so that we can fully concentrate on the work we have undertaken and want to carry out well – for our own well-being and to fulfil its purpose in serving the needs of others. And if you are a teacher or want to be one, dedicate yourself bravely to this task. In such an attitude the university professors lived during the occupation.[13]

During wartime, two universities operated in Warsaw: the University of Warsaw and the University of the Western Lands, which had been relocated from Poznań, where its operation was impossible. (Greater Poland had been incorporated into the German Reich, where a significant German minority lived and especially after the crimes of the Intelligenzaktion, Polish academic life was completely paralysed.) The boundaries between the two universities were fluid: some lecturers taught at both institutions (for example, Tatarkiewicz and Ossowski). Similarly, the distinctions between the so-called "sections" that replaced pre-war faculties and departments were not rigid. A strong community based on deep trust emerged among students and educators, united by their desire to resist the tragic fate imposed upon them. Kotarbiński described this attitude as follows:

> In such moments, people reached decisive internal resolutions. Let us not succumb to indifference and apathy. Let us show ourselves and others that one can live bravely, even when fate tramples us like vermin. Life is not only for the

[13] T. Kotarbiński, *Wspomnienia z czasów drugiej wojny światowej* [Memories from the Years of World War II] (1961), in: *Próg istnienia* [The Threshold of Existence], Vol. 1: *Zdziesiątkowane pokolenie* [The Decimated Generation], eds. J. Jadacki, B. Markiewicz, Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne, Warszawa 1996, pp. 83–84.

> future; the present has its own goals and values. Every day offers an opportunity for a good deed, as there is no shortage of unfulfilled needs. Minds do not sleep; they crave information, stimulation, exchange of views, and sometimes guidance. Not all is lost; new hopes dawn from different directions. Let us hold on tightly, stand together, and work with the assumption that the nightmare will pass – even if reason does not allow us to believe in it.[14]

Almost all lecturers of the former Faculty of Humanities, who had held positions at the pre-war University of Warsaw, resumed teaching – along with their previous and newly appointed assistants. From the LWS members these were: Bogdan Nawroczyński, Stefan Baley (assisted by Joanna Kunicka and Ewa Goryńska), Kotarbiński (with Jerzy Kreczmar and Henryk Hiż), Maria Ossowska, Dina Sztejnbarg, Tatarkiewicz (with Alicja Kadler and Mieczysław Milbrandt). Missing from this list is Witwicki, who was unable to participate due to deteriorating health; however, three of his students – Janina Budkiewicz, Ossowski, and Eugeniusz Geblewicz – continued his work. From the LWS members working at the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, Łukasiewicz was active at the outbreak of the war; three of his students – Słupecki, Salamucha, and Sobociński – joined the underground education effort. Ossowska can be considered the spiritus movens of Warsaw's secret teaching, at least in the field of philosophy. Within the University of the Western Lands, philosophy classes were conducted by Salamucha.

Kotarbiński recollected his involvement in secret lecturing as follows:

> I participated in the organized educational activities of the underground Faculty of Humanities. I taught logic courses directly and indirectly, supervising those led by my then-assistant, now a professor at a university in the United States, Dr Henryk Hiż. Parallel logic courses were conducted by docent Dina Sztejnbarg, who was later taken from our group in 1943 until the end of the war (Pawiak, Auschwitz). These lectures and tutorials differed from ordinary ones in that they were held in private apartments […] within small groups of several or a dozen students. Their participants were enthusiasts who studied because they wanted to, not because they were compelled to take advantage of the opportunity for studies.[15]

[14] Ibid., p. 83.
[15] Ibid., p. 84.

During the war, five master's degrees in broadly defined philosophy were obtained in Warsaw under LWS supervisors. The recipients were Helena Rasiowa, Alicja Iwańska, Andrzej Nowicki, Stefan Ziemski, and (in the Polish studies section) Jerzy Pelc. Others, such as Anna Stanikowa, Jan Ożarowski, Stefan Morawski, Jan Kalicki, Andrzej Grzegorczyk, Jan Srzednicki, Henryk Stonert, and Klemens Szaniawski, completed their full programmes but received their degrees after the war. There were no doctoral degrees awarded during the war, but in the summer of 1944, Swieżawski's habilitation *colloquium* took place. Some wartime seminar and diploma papers have been preserved in volumes compiled by Jadacki and Markiewicz.[16]

A particularly notable form of education during this time was the clandestine philosophy seminars typical of the LWS's teaching methodology. These seminars were attended by a very select group of students, who later became prominent figures in Polish culture.

Łukasiewicz, together with Adam Krokiewicz, led the so-called "seminar of the elders" on the history of philosophy and ancient logic. As Łukasiewicz recalled:

> We read passages from Cicero's *De fato*. Later, after Mr Sobociński returned to Warsaw, we held mathematical logic seminars at Professor Krokiewicz's apartment, attended by Hiż, Słupecki, Sobociński, and Father Salamucha. Initially, Hiż prepared the presentations, followed by Sobociński.[17]

Kotarbiński led a seminar on the philosophy of culture and supervised Hiż's logic seminar, known as the Warsaw Logical Club. A participant, Białostocka, wrote a vivid account:

> It is almost unbelievable that we would gather at Czackiego Street in the Wincentowicz family's apartment for [Hiż's] mathematical logic lectures as if it were the most joyous event of the week. He captivated us so much that even after the course and exam, we decided to continue meeting as the Logical Club. […] The only available time was very early in the morning, so we met at 5:30 a.m. in the Cierniak family's apartment to discuss the intricacies of logic. I remember presenting on "Modal Sentences in the Logic of Duns Scotus" for several sessions. This was probably the spring of 1944. Sadly, it did not last

[16] J. Jadacki, B. Markiewicz, *…A mądrości zło nie przemoże…*, op. cit.; J. Jadacki, B. Markiewicz, *Próg istnienia*, op. cit.

[17] J. Łukasiewicz, *Pamiętnik* [Diary], Semper, Warszawa 2013, p. 74.

> long. The kindly janitor warned Mrs Cierniak that certain authorities had noticed the early morning gatherings. We had to stop.[18]

Tatarkiewicz conducted the so-called Monday Seminar, focusing on the history of philosophy and aesthetics. He gathered participants for this seminar, many of whom joined before the war. This group was exceptionally talented – the kind of students professors hope for. Tragically, nearly all of Tatarkiewicz's seminar participants perished during the war. The professor, who lost his "academic children" to the war, wrote poignantly about this in 1947:

> This group was extraordinary: for a quarter of a century, I had not seen such a harmonious assembly of individuals so capable, so accomplished, with such broad culture. […] They engaged in humanistic matters, complementing the Warsaw logical school in this respect. […] Each had their individual issues, but they were united by a common scholarly stance. Not only scholarly: they were also connected by a certain shared human atmosphere and personal, friendly bonds. […] Today, almost none of this group is alive.[19]

This tragic loss of his students deeply affected Tatarkiewicz, as he had nurtured a group of exceptionally talented individuals, only to see them lost to the ravages of war.

6. Secret Teaching in Lwów and Wilno

After Lwów was occupied by Soviet authorities, Jan Kazimierz University ceased to exist and was replaced by Ivan Franko University. The official ideology of this institution was Marxism-Leninism, rendering philosophy departments unnecessary. Philosophy professors (Ajdukiewicz, Ingarden) were permitted to give lectures – but under no circumstances on philosophy. The distinguished Lwów philosophical tradition was replaced by blatant indoctrination, carried out by the Department of Marxism-Leninism and the Department of Dialectical and Historical Materialism. "Specialists" in these disciplines were brought to Lwów, and their lectures were attended not only by students but also by professors.

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[18] Fragment of a letter to Jacek Jadacki, cited in J. Jadacki, B. Markiewicz, *Próg istnienia*, op. cit., p. 264.

[19] W. Tatarkiewicz, *Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1944*, op. cit., p. 147.

Eugeniusz Rybka recalled how distressing and humiliating this situation was for Lwów scholars:

> I remember one of these mandatory lectures being conducted by an ordinary miner from Donbas, who struggled to read a lecture written by someone else. And the audience consisted of outstanding Polish professors… It was all humiliating. We knew that secret Soviet agents and members of the university Komsomol, led by the well-known [Polish communist] Janek Krasicki, were observing us. The same applied to students, though for them, ideological classes were conducted by more serious lecturers with some academic credentials.[20]

In Soviet-occupied Lwów, philosophy had to go underground – just as in Warsaw. Not much is known about the forms, content, and participants of clandestine philosophy courses in Lwów. The reason lies in the fact that after World War II, two "iron curtains" were effectively drawn around post-Yalta Poland: one to the west, separating us from the world beyond the Elbe, and another to the east, cutting us off from our "borderland" past. What is known, however, is that the most significant role in organizing secret education at both the secondary and higher levels in Lwów was played by Izydora Dąmbska – one of Twardowski's closest students and assistants – who collaborated with another of his students, Fryderyka Jarzębińska.

Maria Oberc, a student of Dąmbska, wrote about her role:

> She was the first in Lwów to decide to organize secret education – first in Polish literature and history, then in all subjects, because, as she used to say, "a dark slave is a double slave, a corrupted slave is a quadruple one." […] When in 1941, Wycech, a delegate from Warsaw, arrived in Lwów to organize secret education, Mrs Iza presented him with a full list of 20 study groups (each with 4–6 members) at the secondary education level, already operating at full capacity. The groups were divided into mathematical-natural science and humanities sections. Professor Dr I. Dąmbska, then still Dr Dąmbska, was, along with Dr Fryderyka Jarzębińska, the head of these groups until July 1944.[21]

[20] Cited after J. Draus, *Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie w latach 1939–1944* [Jan Kazimierz University in Lwów in the Years 1939–1944], "Prace Komisji Historii Nauki Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności" 2006, Vol. 7, p. 114.

[21] M. Oberc, *Profesor Izydora Dąmbska w tajnym nauczaniu* [Professor Izydora Dąmbska in Secret Teaching], "Ruch Filozoficzny" 1978, Vol. 36, Nos. 2–4, p. 122.

Dąmbska's wartime students noted that the secret study groups bore special names derived from Polish figures: "Plater", after Emilia Plater, a heroine of the 1830–1831 November Uprising, who chose to die rather than surrender; "Skłodowska", after Marie Skłodowska-Curie, the great scientist and Nobel laureate; and "Staszic", after Stanisław Staszic, a key reformer of Polish education, who worked to save Polish science during times of political instability and threats to independence at the end of the 18th century. The symbolism behind these figures speaks a lot about the motivations of Dąmbska and all those involved – both lecturers and students – in the mission of secret teaching.

Dąmbska did not limit herself to organizing secondary education; she actively participated in organizing philosophy instruction at the university level. Ajdukiewicz and Ingarden were also involved in this effort. Ajdukiewicz took part in secret philosophy teaching from July 1941 to July 1944 and, on behalf of the Polish underground authorities, organized a clandestine pedagogical studies programme.

In Wilno, the representative of the underground philosophical education was Czeżowski, one of Twardowski's closest students. In his *Zapiski do autobiografii*, Czeżowski wrote:

> When the war broke out, Wilno was occupied by Soviet troops, but soon after, it was incorporated into the Lithuanian Republic, whose authorities allowed Stefan Batory University to operate until the end of the trimester, that is, until 15 December 1939. […] [Later,] professors taught secretly […]. Among my students from that time, two stood out: Edward Csató and Barbara Skarga. […]
>
> When the German occupation began, in order to support my family, I took a position as a German language lecturer for Lithuanian officials at the Railway Directorate. At the same time, I taught in secret high school study groups led by Professor Władysław Dziewulski. Lessons were held in various apartments, often on the outskirts of the city, so I had to walk long distances.[22]

A distinctive feature of wartime Wilno was that, despite the circumstances, regular (though clandestine) meetings of the Wilno Philosophical Society took place. Between 1939 and 1945, nearly 150 such meetings were held.

[22] T. Czeżowski, *Zapiski do autobiografii*, op. cit., p. 436.

One of the speakers at these gatherings was Janina Hosiasson-Lindenbaum, who fled from Warsaw to Wilno under dramatic circumstances in 1939. Hosiasson-Lindenbaum initially hoped to secure a position at Wilno University, but those hopes were quickly dashed. She then attempted to use her international contacts to escape to the West, writing a desperate letter to G.E. Moore, among others. Unfortunately, these plans failed. When the Germans occupied Wilno, Hosiasson was arrested, and a few months later, she was executed – most likely in Ponary near Wilno.

7. Scientific Work

The scientific research of the LWS representatives during World War II followed two paths. The first path consisted of extensive works, usually continuations of research conducted before the war, prepared with the hope that they would be published afterward. The second path comprised essays addressing issues relevant to the "times of contempt," sometimes published clandestinely in underground printing presses or under pseudonyms.

The first path was followed by Twardowski's oldest students: Łukasiewicz, Witwicki, Nawroczyński, Baley, Kotarbiński, Tatarkiewicz, and Kreutz. The work of Czeżowski and representatives of the second generation of the School, if one may put it this way, straddled both paths.

During World War II, Łukasiewicz primarily worked on issues related to his multi-valued logic. As he recalled after the war:

> During that time, I focused on a three-valued logical system with two distinguished values, axiomatized by Sobociński, to which I added a theory of quantifiers and applied the newly developed logic to the arithmetic of natural numbers.[23]

However, another significant "wartime product" of Łukasiewicz was a series of lectures transcribed by Mieczysław Bizoń and published under the unfortunate title *Geneza logiki* [The Genesis of Logic] in 1946. A much more fitting title for this masterpiece of didactics would have been *Ten Lectures on Contemporary Logic*, echoing Twardowski's *Six Lectures on Medieval Philosophy*.

[23] J. Łukasiewicz, *Pamiętnik*, op. cit. p. 74.

Among war results in logic, one should also list Łukasiewicz's book on Aristotle's syllogistics, Sobociński's reconstruction of Leśniewski's systems, and Mostowski's results in the foundations of mathematics. Unfortunately, the manuscripts of these works perished during the war.

Witwicki, despite his deteriorating health, demonstrated boundless creative energy during the war. He prepared *Przechadzki ateńskie* [Athenian Walks] (published in 1947), *Pogadanki obyczajowe* [Moral Talks] (1957), and *Anatomia plastyczna* [Plastic Anatomy] (1960). Most importantly, he completed his series of translations of Plato's dialogues, including *Critias* (1951), *Timaeus* (1951), *Politicus* (1956), *Sophist* (1956), *Euthydemus* (1957), and *Parmenides* (1961), as well as *The Republic* (1948) and part of *The Laws* (1948). He also produced new translations of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, published as *Dobra Nowina według Mateusza i Marka* [The Good News according to Matthew and Mark] (1958).

Nawroczyński's main "wartime product" was the book *Życie duchowe. Zarys filozofii kultury* [Spiritual Life: Outline of the Philosophy of Culture], published in 1947. In its preface, he wrote:

> For long months after 1 September 1939, I could not bring myself to write. I only began this book in the autumn of 1940, when the storm of emotions and thoughts triggered by the collapse of the Republic had somewhat subsided, and the German tide had bounced off the chalk cliffs of England. I managed to complete the first draft in the autumn of 1941. […] During the Warsaw Uprising, I had the manuscript with me in a shelter. After the capitulation, I carried it out of the ruins of the devastated city. That is how it survived. […]
>
> A book written in such times has a peculiar character. I was cut off from libraries and could not obtain the necessary scholarly works. I relied mainly on my personal collection – until much of it was looted. However, I had more time than usual to focus and delve deeply into the subject matter. As a result, I had to draw more from myself than from books. I could not detach myself entirely from the overwhelming events. This work was written as it could only have been written in Warsaw under Nazi occupation. Before the war, I would have written it differently – or perhaps not at all…[24]

[24] B. Nawroczyński, *Życie duchowe. Zarys filozofii kultury* [Spiritual Life: Outline of the Philosophy of Culture], F. Pieczątkowski i Ska, Kraków–Warszawa 1947, p. 5.

Kotarbiński described the intellectual atmosphere in occupied Warsaw as follows:

> We worked intellectually, intensely, and systematically. One had to organize oneself internally to be able to work despite everything that drained both the will to work and the ability to concentrate. […] What was the point of it all, if the enemy tide was to prevail? […] The Polish nation was to be reduced to a race of physical labourers whose intellectual culture was not to exceed the ability to read, write, and count; the highest educational function left to Poles was to be that of an inspector of elementary schools.[25]

Kotarbiński focused on what he called "marginal work," particularly on translating Francis Bacon's *Novum Organum*. Unfortunately, the whole translation was buried during the Warsaw Uprising.

Tatarkiewicz's wartime work included two significant pieces: one theoretical and one didactic. The first was the major monograph *O szczęściu* [On Happiness] (published in 1947); the second was the collective volume *Zagadnienia filozofii* [Problems of Philosophy], prepared under his supervision, which unfortunately was lost in the Warsaw Uprising.

Tatarkiewicz explained his decision to write about happiness during the war as follows:

> Most of this book was written during the war, between 1939 and 1943. It may seem strange that a work on happiness should have been written at a time when men were suffering the greatest misfortunes. But it is less strange than it appears; we think more about happiness when we are unhappy than when we are happy. And evil is easier to endure if in our thoughts we can escape to something better.[26]

A similar motivation may have driven the wartime works of Baley and Kreutz, published in 1946: *Drogi samopoznania* [Paths to Self-Knowledge] and *Kształcenie charakteru* [Character Formation], respectively.

Hosiasson-Lindenbaum, too, remained focused on continuing her pre-war research. Her determination was so great that she wrote about induction and probability even while imprisoned in Wilno. Though she perished, her prison notes

[25] T. Kotarbiński, *Wspomnienia z czasów drugiej wojny światowej*, op. cit., p. 81.

[26] W. Tatarkiewicz, *Analysis of Happiness*, PWN, M. Nijhoff, Warszawa–The Hague 1976, p. xi.

were preserved by Czeżowski, revealing that her reflections were inspired by the realities of prison life.

Czeżowski's work followed a dual path. His *Logika. Podręcznik dla studiujących nauki filozoficzne* [Logic: A Textbook for Philosophy Students] was published in 1949, while his clandestine wartime lectures at the Wilno Philosophical Society included topics such as *O odwadze* [On Courage] (1940), *O szczęściu* [On Happiness] (1940), *Czy łatwiej jest teraz kłamać niż dawniej?* [Is It Easier to Lie Today Than Before?] (1943), and *Strach i lęk* [Fear and Anxiety] (1945).

Maria Ossowska, in letters to her husband, who was in Lwów in 1940–1941, wrote:

> I feel a great need to write, an immense surge of thoughts; unfortunately, there is little time, and I am exhausted from work and other hardships. […] I try to work as much as possible to combat depressive moods and overwhelming longing.[27]

The fruits of her labour were two major monographs: *Podstawy nauki o moralności* [Foundations of the Science of Morality] (published in 1947) and *Motywy postępowania* [Motives for Action] (1949).

Stanisław Ossowski's mood was initially more pessimistic. He wrote in letters to his wife from 1940–1941:

> Recent events have shaken the accustomed ways of thinking and disrupted the previous attitude towards the world. […] I am not in the mood for […] systematic work, although I realize that such work has a soothing effect on the nervous system. To undertake it, one must have the conviction that the work will be brought to some conclusion, and the issue must have sufficient abstract strength.[28]

His mood must have changed – judging by the impressively promising volume on the sociological issues of the nation, prepared after his return from Lwów to Warsaw. Unfortunately, the completed monograph was burned in the Warsaw Uprising; a reconstructed fragment was published in 1946 as *Analiza socjologiczna pojęcia ojczyzny* [Sociological Analysis of the Concept of Homeland].

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[27] M. Ossowska, S. Ossowski, *Intymny dialog uczonych. Korespondencja Marii i Stanisława Ossowskich* [Intimate Dialogue of Scholars: The Correspondence of Maria and Stanisław Ossowski], ed. E. Neyman, Sic!, Warszawa 2002, pp. 341, 368.

[28] Ibid., p. 381.

Regarding the second path in the case of the Ossowskis, the works belonging to it focused on the vision of a democratic society – a matter that was very close to both of their hearts. We know of Ossowska's underground publication from 1944 entitled *Model demokraty* [The Model of a Democrat], and two such publications by Ossowski from 1943, entitled *Najogólniejsze postulaty nowoczesnej demokracji* [The Most General Postulates of Modern Democracy] and *Zagadnienia demokratycznej organizacji życia zbiorowego* [Issues of Democratic Organization of Collective Life]. In Ossowski's paper *Z nastrojów manichejskich* [From Manichean Sentiments], written in 1943, we find the following assessment of the situation:

> We do not know whether history will move towards forms of social existence in which one would want to live. It may be so, it may be otherwise. By joining the fight, we may become fighters for a lost cause – like so many of our predecessors. But where all possibilities exist, the participation of each individual increases the chances of the cause for which they fight.[29]

In turn, Ossowska, a cool and attentive observer of social life, wrote, among other things, that a condition for safeguarding against catastrophes similar to the one that befell Europe in 1939 is developing critical thinking in society:

> To achieve intellectual honesty, critical thinking is indispensable – a disposition rightly suppressed in total regimes but necessary in a democratic system, where a person should freely navigate among various, equally allowed viewpoints. Today, having witnessed mass intoxications carried out by propaganda, advocating for this disposition seems entirely unnecessary. A critical person is resistant to intoxication. They persistently demand not intoxications, but justifications.[30]

Salamucha, during the war (in 1942), published a text titled *Oblicza miłości* [The Faces of Love] in one of the Warsaw underground journals. The problem he tackled was as surprising as the topic of happiness addressed by Tatarkiewicz. Both – as befits representatives of a School which primarily "analyses rather than

[29] S. Ossowski, *Z nastrojów manichejskich* [From Manichaean Sentiments], in: S. Ossowski, *Z zagadnień psychologii społecznej* [On the Problems of Social Psychology], PWN, Warszawa 1967, p. 197.

[30] M. Ossowska, *Wzór obywatela w ustroju demokratycznym* [The Model Citizen in a Democratic System], in: M. Ossowska, *O człowieku, moralności i nauce. Miscellanea* [On Man, Morality and Science: Miscellanea], PWN, Warszawa 1983, p. 361.

moralizes" (according to Bocheński's expression) – focused on analysing the concepts of happiness and love, respectively. The matter becomes clearer when one of the kinds of love Salamucha analyses is love for the homeland and compatriots. The conclusions of Salamucha's analysis are supplemented by some directives for the time of war:

> There is an egoistic love, directed at oneself, and there is an altruistic love, directed at something besides oneself. Christin love […] is multidimensional. […] I should love all the people, but I love stronger those whom I am closer to. I do not know any group or national hate, but I am not a member of the International, indifferent to my nation's matters. In my consciousness, I feel cultural ties with all the nations of the world, […] but I am tied the closest with my own nation, because it is my extended home […]. The destrution of the native home is a destruction of my extended personality. […] I [do not] hate destroyers of my native home, but I intend to defend this native home until my last breath.[31]

The greatest loss was Salamucha's failure to complete studies that would have constituted a work that could be called – referring to the title of one of them – *Podstawy metafizyki naukowej* [Foundations of Scientific Metaphysics] (the preserved parts of this cycle were published in 1946–1947).

This scientific work undertaken under wartime conditions – against all odds, perhaps even against common sense – also had some significance for teaching and educational work. In the LWS, as in any good scientific school, students learn by observing the work of their teachers and are gradually involved in it. Hence, this persistence in undertaken tasks, sharing the results of one's work, and subjecting them to discussion benefited the entire scholarly community. Łukasiewicz summarized this attitude by writing: "Scientific work in these difficult times brought solace to all who sincerely devoted themselves to it."[32]

[31] J. Salamucha, *A Vision of Love*, in: J. Salamucha, *Knowledge and Faith*, eds. K. Świętorzecka, J.J. Jadacki, Rodopi, Amsterdam–New York 2003, pp. 305–307.

[32] J. Łukasiewicz, *Pamiętnik*, op. cit., p. 74.

8. Evaluation of Clandestine Education

It may seem paradoxical that both lecturers and students later recalled the period of teaching and learning in an enslaved country as a time when exceptional bonds were formed among members of the academy. These bonds were strengthened by shared hardship. Teachers and students of secret education also thought of this period as a time of great freedom in teaching and studying. Kotarbiński described and explained this phenomenon as follows:

> No one interfered with the curriculum; the professor took full responsibility for the subject, and of course, ideological censorship or supervision was entirely foreign to the participants of this illegal university, imbued with the spirit of freedom. What a paradox! Never in my life had I participated in teaching as absolutely liberal as… during the darkest period of oppression.[33]

Secret lectures and tutorials and the meetings of underground seminars sustained the intellectual ferment among the philosophers, served as the way to escape from the terrible reality of war, and gave some hope for a better future. Kotarbiński's student, Hiż, assessed the underground university experiment as follows:

> Was this experiment successful? It was partially successful. I believe it was successful because the vast majority of those who started attending lectures continued their education until the very outbreak of the Uprising (except for those, like Hanka Czaki, who were arrested by the Germans). An atmosphere of intellectual stimulation developed and persisted. Students wanted to read, learn, and solve problems, even though they did not always have enough time, energy, or focus. This experiment succeeded because it effectively established the independence of science in the underground state from military, social, political, and religious organizations.[34]

This positive assessment of underground education contrasts with the negative evaluation of the Warsaw Uprising given by Krzysztof Tatarkiewicz:

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[33] T. Kotarbiński, *Wspomnienia z czasów drugiej wojny światowej*, op. cit., p. 84.

[34] H. Hiż, *Inter arma musae non silebant* (1961), in: *Próg istnienia* [The Threshold of Existence], Vol. 1: *Zdziesiątkowane pokolenie* [The Decimated Generation], eds. J. Jadacki, B. Markiewicz, Polskie Towarzystwo Filozoficzne, Warszawa 1996, pp. 74–75.

> The Uprising destroyed material assets – not only those with economic value but also those representing irreplaceable cultural and scientific values […]. Moreover, it destroyed something intangible: the painstakingly woven organization of the Underground State. […] It wiped out a significant portion of the education system […] and self-help organizations. Another misfortune was the death of a considerable percentage of those who had been so painstakingly educated during the occupation or those who had been so arduously saved from the Gestapo.[35]

From this perspective, the Uprising was an unnecessary act of bravado that led to a dramatic increase in casualties in an already devastating war. However, those who went into battle in 1944 saw deep meaning in their fight and had already learned not to cling to their own lives.

Some philosophy students from the underground university survived the Uprising. Soon, they would be the ones prepared to face a new threat: the ideological indoctrination imposed on Poland by the victorious Soviet Union. After the war, territorial changes established at the Yalta Conference meant that Lwów and Wilno ceased to be centres of the LWS. Warsaw was almost completely destroyed. Most significantly, a thorough Sovietization of spiritual life began.

The communist regime curtailed the intellectual influence of the School; the only officially accepted philosophy became Marxism-Leninism. Twardowski and his students were openly attacked by party ideologues and labelled as enemies of the new reality. During the Stalinist years, members of the LWS who survived and remained in Poland faced a choice: either abandon philosophy as an official discipline or restrict themselves to teaching logic. For anti-irrationalists and anti-dogmatists, adopting the imposed ideology was unacceptable. The early 1950s were particularly difficult, as some LWS members (including Tatarkiewicz, Ossowska, and Dąmbska) were temporarily expelled from universities by the communist regime, accused of "demoralizing" (*sic*!) students.

However, the spirit of the LWS, upheld with such dedication during the years 1939–1945, survived even the post-war enslavement.

[35] K. Tatarkiewicz, *Trochę wspomnień, trochę refleksji*, op. cit., p. 19.

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